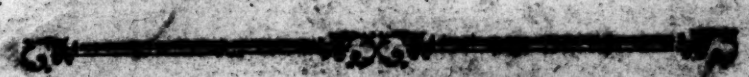


15 7. Polit Governm^{ts}



A
DISCOURSE
ON

Page 1. Line 10. for "the" read "the
18. — 20. for "the" read "the
19. — 19. for "the" read "the
20. — 20. for "the" read "the
HEREDITARY RIGHT





ERRATA.

Page 7. Line penult. for *prudential* read *prudential*.

— 18. — 20. for *supelted* read *suspected*.

— 19. — 13. for *preservation* read *preservation*.

— 20. — penult. read *in*.

— 24. — 10. delete the Comma.

A
DISCOURSE *K*

ON
HEREDITARY RIGHT.

Written in the Year 1712.

BY

A CELEBRATED CLERGYMAN.

L O N D O N :

Printed, and sold, by W. HAY, next Shop to the Society of Artists' Exhibition-hall, near Exeter Exchange, in the Strand.

(Price 1 s.)

A
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LONDON

Printed, and sold, by W. HAY, next Shop to the Co.
Court of Aards, and in the Strand.
(Printed)

P R E F A C E.

THE Publisher assures the Reader, that the following DISCOURSE on HEREDITARY RIGHT is the genuine production of an Author justly admired, for his Taste and Learning, by the discerning Circle in the polite nations of Europe. To affix his celebrated Name, relate how it was preserved, and inform the Reader, that it had the sanction of the Author's indorsement, would beget a suspicion of it's being a spurious, manufactured Catch-penny.

Were he to affirm, That the Author's intimate friends (many of whom are still alive) had, long since, read the Manuscript, and were desirous of having it published; not only because it was wrote for the USE OF THE PUBLICK; but, also, to vindicate HIS POLITICAL PRINCIPLES against such as maliciously represented him to be an enemy to our present happy Constitution, in Church and State;—would only afford matter of altercation to SIEVE YAHOOs, and ITINERARY JOURNALISTS.

Those furious Dunces, who always did oppose his political writings, while he lived, (because they *could not*, or *would not*, understand them), totally actuated

actuated by spleen, ignorance, interest, or rage, still persist to oppose the superlative doctrine of a Genius, whose character is infinitely above the reach of Detraction.

Why this Discourse was not published among his other posthumous papers? may be the supercilious Enquiry of some purblind, mulish Pedant; who has, most amazingly! (after elaborate research), discovered a Deficiency of Venetian Coursers and Fife-shire Trees! The Publisher's answer is, That this question must be resolved by the Editors of those Papers, who had it in Custody in 1765; and *why they did not publish it*, was, evidently, not from a doubt of it's authenticity, but from

from a dread of it's affording
 disgust to those who could
 not read it, nor allow others
 to understand it.

The incessant envy of *fri-
 volous* and *half-informed* men
 pursues all SUPERIOR NATURES
 to their own: And, agree-
 ably to the jocund and serious
 observation of our envied
 Author, *Were it left to the
 choice of an Ass, the brute would
 rather be kicked out of the mire
 by one of his own species, than
 by a better,*

W. HAY.



A
DISCOURSE
ON
HEREDITARY RIGHT.

Written in the Year 1712.



T is a question at present much disputed, between the two factions of WHIG and TORY, *Whether the Queen, now reigning in England, hath a Hereditary Right to her Dominions?* Both parties are apt to be a little dubious in some of their
A terms,

2 A DISCOURSE ON

terms, and (as modern philosophers express it) fix different ideas to the same words. Thus the **TORIES**, by *supreme power*, sometimes pretend to mean the *legislative*, and sometimes the *executive* power. Thus the **WHIGS**, by the Words *revolution principles*, sometimes are said to mean such principles only as approve of the late Revolution under the Prince of Orange; and, sometimes, a principle disposing men to revolutions in general. Many other terms of art between them are treated after the like manner, for reasons obvious enough.

I have often heard the words
Hereditary Right explained, as
 a right descending to Her pre-
sent

sent Majesty from the late King William, by virtue of that settlement enacted at the Revolution, which will admit of little controversy. But the question so fiercely disputed between both parties I take to be this; Whether the Queen now reigning hath, as the Constitution stands at present, any Right to the Crown of these Kingdoms, as being the daughter of King James the Second; or, to express it more clear, Whether her Majesty's descent from King James the Second gives her any Right to the said Crown, since the settlement thereof at the Revolution?

The best way to resolve that question will be by relating

lating the Matters of fact concerning this Point at the Time of the Revolution, and then applying them to the subject of the controversy.

I pretend not here to justify or condemn the proceedings of the late Revolution; but only to show, upon the foot of that, what right was taken away from the late James, and what remains to Her present Majesty.

Upon the Prince of Orange's arrival at London, many of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled together, desired him to send letters to every county and borough in England, for chusing Representatives, in the usual manner

HEREDITARY RIGHT. 5

nor of electing members for parliament. They were chosen, and met accordingly at Westminster; the Lords, at the same time, assembling in their own House. These assemblies, being not convened by the King's writ, could not properly be stiled a *parliament*; and were, therefore, called a *Convention*.

After many and long debates, and a famous conference between the two Houses, they both agreed upon a resolution, *That the King had abdicated the kingdom; and, therefore, that the throne was vacant.* The Abdication, as appears by the words of the resolution, was founded upon the maladministration of that Prince, and his

3 A DISCOURSE ON

his then quitting the kingdom. The original compact was said to be broken, and the power to return to the people, in the same manner as if the whole Royal Family had been extinct. Otherwise, the throne could not be vacant; because, by the oldest laws of England, upon the demise of a king, the next heir is immediately king to all intents and purposes, before he is proclaimed, or sworn, or crowned. And, therefore, the meanest lawyer will tell you, That our constitution admits of no *interregnum*; and, that *Rex Angliæ nunquam moritur*. But, by this Abdication, both Houses supposed that the power returned to the people; and they met together, by their representatives, to deliver it
up

HEREDITARY RIGHT. 7

up in whatever manner the majority would determine. And, accordingly, every step they proceeded was upon this foundation, and no other.

Subsequent to this resolution, both Houses made an ordinance, or a declaration, wherein they declare William and Mary to be King and Queen; they settle the Succession of the Crown; and fix the Administration entirely upon the King, without speaking one syllable of those Princes being descended from the former Kings of this Realm. Whatever regard they had to that, was wholly prudential, and implied.

As

As to the Prince of Orange, it is clear that the choice of him did not depend, in the least, upon any relation he had to the ROYAL FAMILY, but altogether upon his PERSONAL MERIT, in rescuing the Kingdom from Popery and Slavery; as appears from the Conference between both Houses, and from the Words of the Declaration itself; so that, although he had been quite a Stranger to the Royal Blood, the matter would have passed the same Way.

This will better appear, if we observe how many ruptures were then made in the course of the succession. Not only the Prince of Wales, and the two Princesses, ought to have

have preceded him, but also whatever other children might happen afterwards to be born to King James: And, accordingly, we see he had a Daughter, who is now alive in France. So that, by this settlement, made by *the people, convened*, upon the vacancy of the Crown, the Prince of Orange leapt over the heads of no less than four Princes; who, according to all the laws of succession, had a manifest right before him.

The first in remainder, by this settlement, was Mary Princess of Orange, by whom the Prince of Wales was excluded; the second, were the Children of the *new* King and Queen; the third was the

B Princess

Princess Anne, and her Issue; by all which the Prince of Wales was still excluded. The last in remainder was King William, and his issue by any other wife. Here not only the Prince of Wales was shut out, but all other children whom King James might afterwards have; whereby the Daughter, now in France, is excluded, whose birth, I think, hitherto hath not been suspected.

Here, we see, there were several breaches of the succession, not made *by act of parliament, with consent of a king,* but *by the representatives of the people*: met together, by the power reverting to them upon the vacancy of the throne. It

It is true, in this settlement, they had regard to the Royal Family in general; but, upon the foot they went, that was purely voluntary and prudential, chusing, when the throne was empty, to avoid competition, by preferring a family who had formerly reigned, and thereby entailing the crown.

In reasoning this point with men who insist on the Queen's Hereditary Right, as descending from her Father; it is natural to ask them, What they think of the Prince of Wales, or (as the stile runs now) the Pretender?—They tell you, they know no such person. You then urge to hear their opinion, Whether, in case

B 2

they

they are thoroughly convinced he was the Son of the late King James, they would be for him or not?—No, they tell you; because he is excluded, by act of parliament, for being a papist,

I blame nobody for submitting to the government as they find it, without troubling their heads to consider whether it be legal or not; which, I think, best becomes ninety-nine parts in a hundred of mankind: But, when men will debate, and busy the world and themselves in these matters, it is unsufferable to see them take up with such arguments, and propagate them in the nation,

When

When the *pretended* Prince of Wales was excluded, he was neither Papist nor Protestant, neither was he excluded by act of parliament, but by an ordinance of the Convention, in the vacancy of the Throne; which exclusion was indeed confirmed by an act of parliament, but under a king chosen by that convention; and the ordinances of that Convention, in the same assembly, when it was made a Parliament, are declared to be Laws. If, upon the Abdication, the Hereditary Right did not cease, either the Abdication was not valid, and then King James continued still king; or, it was valid, and the Hereditary Right still remained: Then, by the laws of England, the Prince of Wales was, upon the

Abdication, immediately King to all intents and purposes.

But all objections relating to the Pretender will be easily answered by alleging his suspected birth. He was a Tyler's Son, imposed upon the People by Jesuitical and Popish Councils. Nothing of this was ever offered to be proved, or went farther than coffee-house talk. And it is allowed by all Civilians, that a child who is acknowledged by Father and Mother is a *lawful* child, until the imposture be discovered. Neither do I know any Law, either Statute or Common, that obliges the Queen of England to be brought to bed in the presence of so many persons: A thing impossible in itself to be always observed

observed, considering the sudden labours of several women, and the accidental distance of several persons, who, as it is pretended, are obliged to be there. How weak a tenour therefore must the Queen have of the loyalty of such men, who look upon Hereditary Right as inviolable by human laws, and obey Her only upon supposition that the Pretender was not the child of his supposed parents; which was never offered to be proved, nor ought to be allowed, until it has been publicly made appear in a legal way.

To place this matter in a clearer light, let us recite that famous Vote of the Convention, upon which the Revolution

lution was built. In these words it is “ Resolved, That
 “ King James the Second,
 “ having endeavoured to sub-
 “ vert the constitution of the
 “ Kingdom, by breaking the
 “ original contract between
 “ the King and People; and,
 “ by the advice of Jesuites,
 “ and other wicked persons,
 “ having violated the funda-
 “ mental laws, and withdrawn
 “ himself out of the kingdom,
 “ hath abdicated the govern-
 “ ment, and that the throne
 “ is thereby vacant.”

This resolution was sent up to the Lords, who returned it with two amendments;— for the word *abdicated* they put in *deserted*; and these words, *that the throne is thereby vacant*, they

they were for leaving out. Upon the Commons refusing to admit those emendations, and the Lords to recede from them, a long conference, followed between both Houses, which hath since that time been made publick.

The word *abdicated* would not have given much trouble, had it not been apprehended, by the Lords, that the Commons meant to draw from it the appellation of *the throne being vacant*; which, in the progress of the debate, it appeared they did; and the Lords, after much struggle in their own House, were forced to agree to this resolution, without any amendment.

C

It

It is most certain that, as the question then stood, whether the king *abdicated, deserted, or renounced*, the next heir ought, by the law and custom of this realm, to have immediately succeeded; neither was there any vacancy of the throne, more than there would have been at his death. And what some lawyers asserted at that time, that *non est hæres viventis*, was nothing but sophistry;—for the kings of England being but tenants for life, cannot forfeit for their heirs. But there were infinite difficulties in this point: For the next heir was an infant; his birth was suspected by the people; he was out of the kingdom; and our occasions required an active prince

2 upon

upon the throne. Besides, the Prince of Orange, who had been at so much expence and hazard to restore our liberties, and preserve our religion, must have a Reward equal to his MERIT and SUCCESS.

He was promised the CROWN by those who invited him over; and, next to the glory of our preservation, IT was the great motive of his expedition. And, if the two Houses should determine otherwise, it was justly apprehended, that a Prince of so much ardour and experience, at the head of 14,000 disciplined troops, joined with so considerable a party in the nation, as would still be in his interest, might

C 2

place

place himself on the Throne after a less amicable manner, of which the consequences were too terrible to venture.

For these reasons, which were certainly of much weight, the Lords fell in with the Resolution of the Commons, that the king had abdicated, and that the throne was vacant; that the original compact was broken; and that the power reverted to the people, who might bestow it where they pleased, as much as if the whole Royal Family were extinct. And it is manifest they proceeded accordingly. For, supposing the Pretender out of the question, the course of succession was still broken in many particulars. The two Princesses

Princesses were postponed; whose title was indisputable; no provision was made for any future children of the late king; and all heirs of the Popish religion were absolutely disinherited.

So that if Her Majesty now reigning claims the Crown as descending from her Father, and that claim be allowed, King William must certainly have been an Usurper; and, if the Royal Line hath now any title precedent to the Revolution, those who are of this opinion must either prove the Imposture of the Pretender's Birth, or be in his interest, or run into an absurdity.

In

In that famous Conference between the two Houses, at the Convention, the violence of the Lords against allowing the throne to be vacant, arose from their apprehensions that it would make the Crown *elective*; and this continues to be still an objection of those who insist on the HEREDITARY RIGHT.

What if the Protestant Line were now wholly extinct? Such accidents frequently appear in private Families. In such a case, they will allow it necessary to proceed to an Election for that time, but make it hereditary for the future.—No more was done at the Revolution. The two Houses proceeded as if the
Royal

Royal Line were extinct, and with a prudential regard for proximity of blood; as, perhaps, they would have done for some of our noble families of distant relation to the Crown, had the case then been really so, and the Prince of Orange out of the question.

Some stretch this point of HEREDITARY succession so far as not to allow it within the power of the *entire Legislature*, either to dissolve or interrupt it; and propose desperate cases where it is possible for a corrupted Majority of Lords and Commons, with the consent of an ill Prince, to destroy the constitution against the visible inclination of the whole bulk of the People.

This

This sort of arguing is originally WHIG, however the Tories come to make use of it. But it is not worth answering. If we come once to suppose remote, improbable cases in government, because they are possible, there will be no end.

There was never, a government in the world, that had not some defects in it's very original institution: And if such a Senate of Nobles as ours, possessed of so many privileges, and of so great a share of property, with above 500 REPRESENTATIVES for the Commons, be supposed capable of ruining the Liberties and Possessions of the People, and their own; we have no recourse,

recourse, until we can find some other SPECIES OF CREATURES, as tools to work with, instead of those in the HUMAN SHAPE *. All we can say is, that such a design as this has, so far from being ever *executed*, never hitherto been *attempted*, by the Representatives: And those kings of England who aimed at arbitrary power, always made use of very different means. So that, since an unlimited power must, of necessity be somewhere or other in all governments, I

* The author, no doubt, meant to be ironical, and illucidate here what he had formerly written on a grand Debate at the General Convention of the HOUYHNHNMS. But, lest the Publisher should terrify the mind of a YAHOO Reader, he will only insert one of the author's Reasons for this disgusting comparison.—The Sally of his wit alluded to is as follows: "The inhabitants, taking a fancy to use the service of YAHOOs, had very imprudently neglected to cultivate the breed of ASSES, a comely animal, easily kept, more tame and orderly, without any offensive smell, strong enough for labour, although they yield to the other in agility of body; and if their braying be no agreeable sound, it is far preferable to the terrible howlings of the YAHOOs," &c. See a VOYAGE TO THE HOUYHNHNMS, cap. ix.

D

know

know not where it can be more safely deposited than in the hands where it is with us; nor what end those casuists in policy propose by advancing such fantastical notions.

However, let us, once for all, state this imaginary question in its utmost height. Suppose, in future ages, an ambitious Prince, designing to enslave the nation, should allow a million a year towards bribing a MAJORITY in both Houses; and, as his first essay, should repeal the act for TRIENNIAL Parliaments, and make THAT which then sat his PERPETUAL PENSIONERS, it is not easy to determine what lengths a *corrupted* people might go with such a King.—
Only

Only this is certain, that while there was left among them *not any love of liberty*, but the least degree of COMMON SENSE, they would hold their HANDS, before they made the Prince absolute Master of their *hearts and properties*. Because that would not only take off the necessity of *bribing* them any farther, but likewise leave it in his power to recall at pleasure, and in a few days, all he had given them, as the *price* of their *Liberties*, and, besides, leave their *lives* and *fortunes* at his Mercy,

We find King Charles the Second, whose heart was extremely hot upon this project, whose ministers were sufficiently corrupt, who himself wanted no arts or address, and

who, from the extent of his prerogative, as well as some particular circumstances of his reign, possessed many advantages which the laws have denied to succeeding princes; yet he was not able, in seventeen years, though aided by subsidies from France, to bribe a Majority to his side, in any point of importance, where *liberty* and *religion* were concerned.

I was moved to examine this point by observing the stile of many late addresses, in which the subscribers promise the Queen, to defend her *Hereditary Right* *. Here they

* The addresses of both Houses, Universities, &c. in 1708, generally conclude, " And we are unanimously resolved " to stand by and assist Your Majesty with our Lives and " Fortunes, in maintenance of *your hereditary*, and UN-
" DOUBTED RIGHT and TITLE to the Crown," &c.

cannot

cannot be thought to understand *the Settlement of the convention*, whereby Her Majesty was to succeed after the death of the Queen, her Sister, without issue; for that was never opposed by the party which Her addresses are intended to attack: Neither do I believe they will scruple to confess, they mean a *right* descending to her Majesty from the King, her Father; and what force there is in that *right*, upon the foot of the Revolution, I have already mentioned.

Perhaps it may not be improper to consider the consequences reasonably apprehended from either side of this opinion. It is objected against those

those who deny the *hereditary right*, that they make the kingdom *elective*, and then enlarge, at their own ease, upon the miseries of elective kingdoms, from the example of *Poland*.—

But the *Act*, which *establishesthe Crown* immediately after the Revolution, entirely expunges that objection: For in this *Act of Parliament*, after specifying the same *Remainders*, the Clause concludes,
 “ That to this settlement they
 “ obliged themselves, and
 “ their posterity, for ever. *”

I have said already, That, in case the *Royal Family* were *wholly extinct*, there must be

* See Act, 1 Gul. & Maria, Sess. 2. c. 2. § 8.

an *Election*; and, at the *Revolution*, it is plain, they proceeded after that manner: yet that Method of procedure no more makes Great Britain elective, than (comparatively) a person being *once drunk*, in his whole life, can justly denominate him a *drunkard*.

But those who affirm *that Right*, by which the Queen now reigns, to be delivered to her by *Her Father*, must first legally make out the imposture of the Pretender's birth; secondly, they must affirm King William to have been an Usurper, especially after his Queen's death: And thereby, they must disallow all laws made in his reign, for settling the Crown, as so many nullities;

nullities; which, I think, are such ruinous consequences, that an opinion can hardly be worth while, when we may go on so easily, and so consistently, without it.

There are many persons who still refine upon this scheme, and think it the safest way to give her Majesty as many titles as they can. These affirm the Queen to have an *hereditary right* from her Father, joined to the settlement of the Revolution. This is much like a play I have seen among boys; where, by tying a second knot, you undo it.

It was certainly with great indifcretion that this term of *hereditary right* was first introduced

duced of late into pamphlets and addresses; and, perhaps, with no very good meaning towards the Revolution. However, I think there may be a temper found to satisfy every body, if people will take *the words* upon content, and leave men to understand it as they please, which is an expedient often made use of in parallel cases. There is no doubt but, in propriety of speech, her Majesty's title, in remainder after her Sister, upon the foot of the convention settlement, may be called an *hereditary right*: But the mischief lies in the consequences drawn by those who understand these words in the other sense, making the *hereditary right*, as they have explained

E plained

it, indefeasible; and of divine original; a doctrine which the most artificial defenders have never been able, in any tolerable manner, to reconcile with the Revolution, and which is, indeed, an inlet to all the extremes of arbitrary power.

I have often considered how entirely almost the reasonable part of *Whigs* and *Tories* agree in their political opinions, with relation both to Church and State. I have sometimes heard two persons dispute with the greatest violence; yet, upon moderating between them, and catechising each, I could not find they differed in any one point, except this of the *hereditary right*. They both approved
the

the Revolution; the exclusion of the Pretender, the succession of the House of Hanover; they were both for passive obedience to the legislative, and denied it to the executive power. They were both for the present constitution in the church, with an indulgence to tender consciences. Their difference lay in strong misrepresentations of each other's party, and in their sentiments, of what persons were best qualified to be in or out of the ministry and the great employments.

I impute the ruin of the *Whigs*, among other causes, to the unsufferable connivance, and, perhaps, encouragement, they gave those prostitute scrib-
E 2
lers

lers; who, under the shelter of propagating those doctrines in the State they had a mind to advance, often struck at the root of Christianity; and, at best, treated the whole body of the clergy as publick enemies. An honest clergyman, how much soever in the interests of his country, and it's constitution, could not, in any of the papers, find a *salvo* for himself, which put him under a necessity of siding where he might find better quarter.

I have frequently complained of this to the men in power, and, I am confident, had they taken other measures, the Majority of the clergy would have been on their side in all reason-

reasonable points. I should be glad to see the *Tories* take example, and learn wisdom from this mistake.

Not to instance a croud of others, those two scandalous, illiterate Dunces, the *Observer* and *Reviewer*, have made more profelytes to the *Tories*, than all the real and prudent arguments of Dr. *Hicks* and Mr. *Lesley*; and, therefore, the ruling party will do wisely to hinder their retaining pens from advancing the doctrines of Passive Obedience, Hereditary Right, Exemption of the Church from the Legislature, or any such enslaving tenets; although such authors may, in other points, fall in with the present prevailing scheme of Affairs.

Affairs. Indifferent men will be apt to impute all opinions to the body of a party, which allows it's intemperate and inflamed writers to punish them to the world: The remedy operates in both cases directly contrary to the intention of the prescriber. And *Hicks* and *Lesley* have been as successful in converting *Tories*, as the others lately mentioned in reducing *Whigs*.

There is one circumstance I cannot reflect upon without some indignation and more scorn; for, in it's own nature, it is perfectly ridiculous. That the two persons, who take upon them to inform us weekly what our sentiments ought to be in Church and State; are,
one

one of them an avowed Presbyterian, and the other a professed Nonjuror; the first halting us to Fanaticism and confusion, the other to Slavery and a Popish Successor; both, with the utmost indiscretion, cooking up their extremes for the palate of the Public; with great industry, putting their worst ware forward, and exposing their cause in it's foulest aspect;—the one a mean senseless Ideot, the other a most furious Zealot.—Must our duty be conveyed to us in such vehicles as these? If the generality of the nation know not how to think or talk, until they have read their lesson in the Papers of the week; it is a pity some person of sober reason, and good understanding,

is

is not employed to instruct them. There is a wide field left for such an undertaker, which has not yet been treated by any Pen; and now is the time of attempting, while we are getting out of one extreme, to show and fix our bounds, that we may not run into the other.

Whether the present change in the Ministry will be for the Public Advantage, it is presumption to doubt; but by whatsoever council it was effected, it is plain that their resignation must lay their fall entirely at their own doors. For, besides the reason I mentioned before, how could it be suffered, in a free nation, to see all avenues to the Royal favour shut

shut up, except a few where one or two of themselves stood centry. Besides, when I considered the proceedings of certain great men, I have been apt to wonder, that those persons who talk so much of *comprehension* in the Church, will allow so little of it in the State. They are grieved to see a division kept up between the Church of England and Dissenters, where the differences in opinion are so few and inconsiderable: Yet these Sons of Moderation were pleased to excommunicate every man who disagreed with them in the smallest article of their political creed, or refused to receive any new article which their leaders imposed at pleasure to serve their own interests.

F

rests. Those who had been their firmest friends, the instruments of their greatness, who voted and writ in their defence, under all their difficulties and persecutions, as soon as they began to shew any scruple of conscience, or honour, were treated after a most peculiar manner; which, being a modern refinement in politicks, is worth relating.

In the number of those who adhered to the late ministry, there were several persons entire friends to the Constitution in Church and State. These, partly allured by the personal qualities of some great men, and partly preferring their system (as far as was avowed) to that of their adversaries,

saries, were their entire friends from the motives of conscience, appeared in their defence on every occasion, and gave them all that reputation which served so long to support them: But, started at length with some proceedings, they began to stop, and look before them. They could not digest some new ways of determining elections; they could not join to remove the Test, which would place the national religion upon the level with every paultry sect. They were offended at those infamous forbidders who, under the shelter of Whiggish principles, were attempting to destroy Christianity, and who too often found both protection and encouragement.

With these, and many other subjects of discontent, they were, however, still denominated of that party; but, refusing to go into all the heights of it, a firm resolution was taken to keep them low and unprovided.—However, they were still received with great civility by those in power; which served two purposes; to hold them still upon the visible list of the party, and, upon a change, to unqualify them from being received, or trusted, by those who succeeded. Neither was there much to be feared from the anger or resentment of such men, who acted upon a principle of virtue, and therefore would not sacrifice a Cause they

they approved in general, to their private revenge.

Thus they daily went on (as friend *Tindall* expresses it) narrowing their terms of communication, and consequently their bottom, until they were grown a *pyramid reversed*; which, I remember, were the very words made use of, some time ago, by an eminent person of their own side, when, to very little purpose, he gave them advice, and foretold their ruin, if they neglected it.

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